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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 9/81)



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INTERNATIONAL

WORLD SOCIALISM, PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow: MIROVOY SOTSIALIZM I PROBLEMY RAZVIVAYUSHCHIKHSYA STRAN in Russian 1979 (signed to press 22 Oct 79) pp 1-2, 157-189 (including appropriate footnotes), 199-200

[Annotation, table of contents, and chapter 3, part 2 by V. E. Lukov of book "World Socialism and the Problems of the Developing Countries", edited by Professor V. D. Shchetinin, doctor of economics, Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", 12,000 copies, 200 pages/

[Excerpts] This book examines the topical problems of the influence of socialism on the process of the emergence and development of liberated states, along with the assertion of new principles of their relations in the international arena. It demonstrates how the joint actions of the socialist and developing countries are guaranteeing the affirmation in international relations of the principles of a community of equal rights, whose foundation was laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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/2. The restructuring of imperialism's neocolonial strategy in the present-day phase/ **/in boldface/**

It would be no exaggeration to state that the basic trends of evolution of imperialism's neocolonial strategy during the 1970's were connected primarily with adjustments in the neocolonial course of American imperialism.

The basic trends in the evolution of the U.S. neocolonial strategy during the 1970's was a noticeable intensification of the tendency toward the so-called "regional" approach to the developing countries. The intensification of this tendency was one of the manifestations of the broader revision of U.S. foreign policy which was undertaken by the ruling circles of the United States during the late 1960's and early 1970's under the conditions of the further relative reduction of the capitalist system's possibilities (and primarily those of American imperialism) to influence the course of world development, and this was manifested with particular clarity in the defeat of the United States in the Indochina war.

A specific manifestation of the existence of the "regional" tendency in U.S. neocolonial policy during the 1950's and 1960's was the distribution of U.S. "aid" in various geographical directions. Along with the members of the military-political blocs and puppet regimes, the principal recipients of American "aid," and primarily economic aid, included the very large developing countries which have played an important role in the Indian sub-continent, in the Arab East, in Latin America, and in Southeast Asia.

A unique kind of distortion of perspective has occurred: because of temporary difficulties on the path of cooperation with other anti-imperialist forces, as well as problems of a local nature, certain leaders of young states have lost sight of the main opponent--imperialism--; they have forgotten the fact that the only consistent ally in the struggle for genuine national independence is the socialist community. An indifferent attitude toward future problems confronting society, combined with a striving to solve local problems by any means, to strengthen their own positions vis-a-vis the neighboring states, and to reinforce "national feelings" has led to a situation whereby the actions of certain leaders of the developing countries objectively correspond to the interests of neocolonialism, which under cover of these factors is waging a war against the national liberation movement (Zaire's active aid to the pro-imperialist factions during the course of the civil war in Angola, the military actions of the ARE **/Arab Republic of Egypt/** against Libya, the Sudan's support of separatist movements in Ethiopia, the struggle of the right-wing Christian factions in Lebanon to expel the Palestinians from the country).

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The existence of this tendency is connected with temporary difficulties of the anti-imperialist struggle in certain countries; the development of the national liberation movement and the experience which is being accumulated should lead to a weakening of this tendency.

With economic growth there occurs a certain enlargement of the material and financial base of the foreign-policy activity of conservative regimes in a number of the developing countries.

During the 1970's the most notable increase in material resources of conservative regimes occurred in the oil-producing countries, primarily in monarchist Iran and Saudi Arabia. The sharp increase in oil prices led to the rapid growth of currency revenues for these countries. The revenues of Saudi Arabia alone in 1976 amounted to approximately 35 billion dollars, and its currency reserves increased from 0.7 billion dollars in 1970 to 27.8 billion dollars at the beginning of 1977.⁵²

During the post-war period both Iran and Saudi Arabia, because of an entire range of economic, strategic, and political circumstances, were allotted a significant role in the general neocolonial strategy of imperialism.

Saudi Arabia and Iran have at their disposal the largest reserves in the capitalist world of an extremely important strategic raw material--oil (Saudi Arabia's share in the known petroleum reserves of the capitalist world amounted to 27.4 percent in 1972, while those of Iran amounted to 12.1 percent). Both countries occupy important military-strategic positions in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Over the course of many decades both Saudi Arabia and Iran, prior to the fall of the shah's regime, maintained close ties with the imperialist powers (with Britain, and during the post-war period--with the United States). In 1955 Iran became one of the leading Asian participants in the CENTO bloc which was created by the ruling circles of the United States and Britain to combat the national liberation movement in the Near and Middle East; Saudi Arabia has traditionally occupied the right flank in the political life of the Arab East.

The increase in the material and financial potentials of both monarchies during the 1970's made both these countries in the eyes of the American strategists of the "regional approach" extremely attractive candidates for the role of leaders of the Near Eastern region.

The principal task of the neocolonialists with regard to Saudi Arabia and Iran during the last decade became more and more the creation within them of conductors of neocolonial policy which would be active and well-disposed for important opportunities and which would fully identify their own interests with the interests of the imperialist powers and which would from an external point of view have equal economic rights with them, while in fact the relations would be subordinate to the so-called "interdependence." In accordance with this task, certain changes were made in the nature of the ties between Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the imperialist powers.

The principal elements of this course taken by the imperialist powers in the sphere of economic relations were as follows:

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--the creation of the appearance of reducing the presence of Western companies in the economies of these countries, for which purpose a widespread practice was adopted of creating mixed enterprises and even the nationalization of foreign property, but with mandatory compensation and, what was especially important, with the maintenance of the privileged position of the Western monopolies in these countries. A characteristic example was constituted by the relations between the American oil monopolies and the shah's government of Iran. In exchange for an agreement to hand over control of oil extraction to the government of Iran, Washington through the American oil monopolies secured a long-term pledge by Iran to supply oil to the United States in case the other Near Eastern countries attempted (as was the case in 1973) to use oil deliveries as a means of influencing the United States of America;

--the active attraction of the capital of the oil-producing countries, primarily Saudi Arabia and Iran, into the economy of the industrially-developed capitalist states to create "relations of interdependence," but in fact--to integrate the elite of the right-wing regimes of the Near and Middle East into the socioeconomic structure of imperialism with the rights of shareholders. The recirculation by Saudi Arabia and Iran of currency revenues from the sale of oil into the economy of the United States alone led to a situation whereby, for example, Saudi Arabia invested tens of billions of dollars in securities of the American government and private firms;⁵³

--a considerable expansion of exports to Saudi Arabia and the shah's Iran, including large-scale complexes, designed for the long-range future. Thus, out of the 142 billion dollars allocated by Riyadh to carry out their program of economic development for the period 1975--1980, almost 50 percent had to consist of purchases of equipment in the United States. Riyadh concluded contracts with American firms to deliver complete sets of equipment with a total value of approximately 20 billion dollars.⁵⁴

Undoubtedly, certain of the above-mentioned characteristics of the policy of neocolonialism are inherent to the present-day relations between the imperialist powers and other oil-producing countries of the Arab world. However, the sharp intensification of the trade and economic ties of the imperialist states precisely with Saudi Arabia and prior to 1979 with Iran were of a clearly-expressed class nature, serving the above-indicated "super-task" of the neocolonial strategy in this region of the world. A proof of this was such an aspect of trade (and essentially political) relations between the imperialist states, and primarily the United States, and Saudi Arabia and the shah's Iran as the arms trade, which reached dimensions and structures unique for the developing countries.

The strategists of neocolonialism placed particular hopes during the 1970's in the Near Eastern region on the monarchist regime in Iran.

In striving to enlist the support of the imperialist powers, the shah did not stint on promises, advertising his regime as a reliable performer of the plans of the neocolonialists in the region of the Near East.

On their part, the neocolonialists undertook actions for the purpose of speeding up the capitalist modernization of the economy which was being undertaken by the

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ruling circles of Iran, as well as to convert the Iranian Army into a powerful machine for suppressing the national liberation movement in the Near East. Particular attention was devoted to the plans for modernizing the shah's army.

The definite economic growth and the equipping of the numerous (more than 400,000-man) Iranian Army with the latest types of weapons created during the 1970's among the ruling circles of Iran and their sponsors abroad a conviction in the firmness of the positions of the pro-imperialist regime in the country and inspired them with the hope that with the increase of Iran's economic and military potential, it would play a more and more important role in implementing the plans of the neocolonialists.

Iran's importance for the imperialist powers during the 1970's was not exhausted by its "regional" functions. As the leading supplier of oil to the countries of Western Europe, Japan, and Israel, Iran played a role in OPEC which was important for the West. The representatives of Iran, acting en bloc with Saudi Arabia, opposed the demands of a number of oil-producing countries to raise the prices on oil to compensate for the consequences of inflation.

The forced capitalistic "modernization" of Iran's economy, which led to the rapid and violent destruction of traditional socioeconomic structures, the ambitious foreign-policy plans of the ruling circles, which pushed them toward the arms race, the harsh repressions to which the monarchy's political opponents were subjected, --these and a number of other factors led to the accumulation in Iranian society of a powerful revolutionary anti-imperialist potential.

Iran's new government has decisively abandoned the role to which the country had bound itself in the past--the role of a "regional power," imperialism's advance outpost in the Near and Middle East.

The United States and other imperialist powers have actively facilitated the growth of Saudi Arabia's military potential. During the years 1975--1976 the United States concluded contracts for the sale of arms to Riyadh to the total amount of more than seven billion dollars. The government of Saudi Arabia had planned to complete by 1982 with the aid of the United States the construction of military facilities with a total cost of 16 billion dollars. Britain pledged to supply Saudi Arabia from 1975 through 1978 with arms worth 5.5 billion dollars. France has also expanded its military deliveries to Riyadh.⁶² In 1977 alone Saudi Arabia planned to expend 10.7 billion dollars on imports of military equipment from the United States, France, Britain, and the FRG.⁶³

The policy of neocolonialism, directed at encouraging the formation of new "centers of power" in the region of the Persian Gulf, along with some obvious failures, has also brought in some fruits. There has been a notable activation of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy; it has attempted to act as a unique kind of leader of the conservative forces in the Arab East.

The activity of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy has developed in several directions at once.

At the present time it is persistently attempting to create a system of regional military-political alliances around itself. This striving manifested itself, in particular, at the conference of the Persian Gulf countries which was held in 1976

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in Muscat; it was here that Saudi Arabia unleashed a great deal of activity in an attempt to incline a number of conference participants to create in the Gulf region an association for the "struggle against communism, to guarantee the security and freedom of navigation." These attempts ended in failure, but efforts in the same direction are continuing. At the same time Riyadh is attempting to create a military-political bloc in the Red Sea region.

A second line of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy is covert, subversive activity against progressive regimes and political parties in Arab countries as well as the countries of Tropical Africa, an opposition to the development of friendly ties between these countries and the socialist community, primarily with the Soviet Union, the encouragement and strengthening of the shifts to the right which have been observed in recent years in certain Arab states.

Also well known is the active support which Saudi Arabia has rendered, together with other right-wing regimes, to the Eritrean separatists who have come out against the central government of Ethiopia.

Saudi Arabia actively interfered in the civil war in Lebanon on the side of the conservative forces, rendering financial aid to them. This interference, in the estimate of the Western press, "was an extremely important factor and led to the weakening of the left-wing forces of Lebanon and their Palestinian allies."⁶⁶ Riyadh played an important role in pushing the Egyptian leadership to activate a policy of "liberalization," threatening the gains made by the Egyptian Revolution and causing dissatisfaction among more and more of the masses in the ARE.

Over a lengthy period of time Egypt's creditors from the industrially developed capitalist countries, accusing Sadat's government of "indecisiveness" and "inconsistency" in carrying out the "liberalization" of the economy, have demanded that he abolish the subsidy for producing foodstuffs and a number of items of prime necessity. Cairo, however, obviously understanding what political consequences such a measure could lead to, have refused to do this. The decisive role in imparting a "more consistent nature" to the policy of "liberalization" has been played by Saudi Arabia. Riyadh (together with the government of Kuwait) is Egypt's foremost creditor. During the period 1973--1975 the Egyptian government received approximately one billion dollars a year. In mid-1976 upon the initiative of Saudi Arabia, in order to "discipline" the Egyptian government, a ceiling was placed on aid to Egypt: it was decided to grant the ARE two billion dollars over the course of the ensuing five years (according to the statements by Egyptian representatives, Egypt during this period needed a minimum of 12 billion dollars). At the same time Saudi Arabia hindered the granting to the ARE by a number of Western banks of a commercial loan which had already been agreed upon in the amount of 250 million dollars.⁶⁷ These "disciplinary" measures exerted the required influence on the Sadat government: in January 1977 the "wasteful" subsidizing of foodstuff production was abolished, and this immediately brought about a flare-up of popular indignation which flowed over into widespread demonstrations of the masses throughout Egypt.

Taking advantage of the split-up of the single front of Arab states opposed to the Israeli aggressor, Saudi Arabia has actively intervened in the attempts to settle the Near Eastern conflict.

These and other foreign-policy actions by Saudi Arabia have shown that in recent years it has become more and more of a "regional center" of neocolonialism.

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The leadership circles of the imperialist states and the theoreticians of neocolonialism in their plans to reconstruct a system of relations with the developing countries have allotted a significant role to the great-power, anti-Soviet course of the present-day Beijing leadership.

The theoretical groundwork for the actions of the PRC in the developing countries is, as before, the Maoist theory of the "three worlds," representing a modernized variant of the concept of "intermediate zones," as set forth by Mao Zedong shortly after World War II. The axis of present-day international relations is proclaimed to be the struggle of the "third world," that is, the developing countries, headed by China.

It is evident that the authors of this concept are pursuing goals which are extremely remote from a scientific Marxian analysis of international relations. Their task is to conceal the class nature of present-day international relations, to provide a "theoretical" groundwork for the claims of the Beijing leadership to a leadership role in the developing countries, and to tear the national liberation movement away from its natural ally--the socialist community. Especially dangerous for the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is the increasing anti-Sovietism of Beijing's course in the developing countries. The Chinese leadership's striving even in words to abandon the struggle with imperialism has found its reflection in the evolution of slogans as well, i. e., those advanced by Beijing's propaganda. This is testified to, in particular, by the appearance of the locution "two or three superpowers."

Similar changes in phraseology, combined with noisy accusations directed at the policy supposedly being conducted by the Soviet Union of "polarizing" the developing countries "in order to split them up and enslave them," must show, in the opinion of the Beijing leadership, the national liberation movement its "true enemy."

The reactionary essence of the Chinese leadership's policy has been clearly manifested during the last few years in China's approach to relations with the countries of Southeast Asia.

A vivid example of the schismatic, essentially pro-imperialist policy of the Chinese leadership is its attitude toward the national liberation movement on the African continent. The Beijing leadership played a sinister role in the events in Angola, where the PRC actively supported the forces of the native reactionaries who had entered into a direct alliance with the RSA (Republic of South Africa).

Beginning in the mid-1960's, China, while demagogically declaring its support for "all anti-colonial forces in Angola," rendered regular material aid to two right-wing nationalist Angolan factions--the FNLA and UNITA, who were fighting not so much against the Portuguese colonialists as against the most mass-oriented, consistently anti-colonial organization of the Angolan people--the MPLA. Moreover, it was well known in Beijing that the leaders of both the FNLA and UNITA had entered into secret collaboration with the colonialists and the imperialist powers.

The collapse of the pro-imperialist policy in Angola did not have any sobering effect on the Beijing leadership. On the contrary, covering its tracks with a noisy propaganda campaign with regard to the so-called "Soviet threat" to Africa, it stepped up its own attempts to introduce a split in the relations between the

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African countries and the Soviet Union, to whip up the sources of tension in Africa, and to disunite the forces of national liberation.

It was with unconcealed pleasure that Beijing received the news of the denunciation on 14 March 1976 by the A. Sadat government of the treaty of friendship and cooperation with the USSR. Practically right away after the unilateral actions by A. Sadat, in April 1976, a Chinese-Egyptian protocol on military cooperation was signed in Beijing.

There has been no cessation of the Chinese leadership's efforts to disrupt the relations between the national liberation movements in the southern part of Africa and the socialist countries, the progressive forces on the African continent. Beijing has paid particular attention to the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe, and primarily to the Patriotic Front.

The policy of the present-day Chinese leadership, which, as was pointed out at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, "is not only completely alien to socialist principles and ideals but in essence has become an important reserve for imperialism in its struggle against socialism,"⁴⁸ and, objectively speaking, is closing ranks more and more with imperialism's neocolonial policy.

Upon coming to power, the government of J. Carter declared that it would conduct a "new, more moral policy" in its relations with the developing countries.

We are fully justified in stating that the goals of the U.S. "moral policy" with regard to the young states are entirely subordinate to the principal task in Asia, Africa, and Latin America--not to permit such a change in their position in relation to the industrially developed capitalist states which would threaten the latter's economic and political interests in the developing countries.

Whereas the majority of countries which have recently freed themselves from colonial dependence "have been and still are defending their political and economic rights in a struggle against imperialism, striving to reinforce their own independence and to raise the level of the social, economic, and cultural development of their own peoples,"⁴⁹ the forces which imperialism is attempting to utilize in order to realize their own neocolonial interests are objectively retarding the promulgation of socio-economic changes and the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle. Hence, "regionalism" is capable of ensuring the imperialist powers at best only temporary, transitory successes in the struggle against the national liberation movement. But in the final analysis the adjustments which the neocolonialists have made to their strategy will merely lead to a further accumulation of anti-imperialist potential in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and to further activation of the struggle of the people in these countries against neocolonialism.

FOOTNOTES

48. "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: zakonomernosti, tendentsii, perspektivy"/The Developing Countries: Principles, Tendencies, Prospects, p 381.

52. See U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 30 May 1977; TIME, 11 July 1977.

53. See TIME, 11 July 1977.

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- 54. See U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 30 May 1977.
- 62. See THE NEW YORK TIMES, 6 Jan 1977.
- 63. See TIME, 11 July 1976.
- 66. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 31 Jan 1977.
- 67. See THE NEW YORK TIMES, 31 Jan 1977.
- 72. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th Congress of the CPSU]
p 10.
- 76. Ibid. p 13.

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INTERNATIONAL

'DEMOCRATIC' DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH YEMEN DESCRIBED

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[Article by Aleksandr Sergeyevich Gus'kov, candidate of historical sciences, specializing in the field of history of the national-liberation movement in the Arab countries: "Democratic Yemen: Progressive Evolution of Revolutionary Democracy"]

[Text] The young states of socialist orientation so far comprise a relatively small part of the zone of the national-liberation movement, but they are traveling the road which could bring their peoples to the building of a society based on the principles of equality and social justice. Among the states of socialist orientation, a prominent place is occupied by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), the people of which achieved independence as a result of a struggle of many years against English colonialism. During its course, revolutionary-democratic forces, as expressed by the National Front, became strong and occupied a dominating position.

The revolutionary experience of democratic Yemen naturally has attracted the attention of Soviet investigators.¹ The social-political development of the PDRY constitutes an example of realization of anticapitalist tendencies of the contemporary national-liberation revolution and the solution of those problems facing other countries of socialist orientation. "The people of democratic Yemen," General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L.I. Brezhnev noted, "have added more than one glorious page to the history of the national-liberation movement. "From the first partisan detachments in the mountains to the triumph of an antiimperialist uprising, attainment of independence and the declaration of a policy of building socialism--such is the route traveled by the people of South Yemen."² The task of the present article constitutes an attempt to show this evolution took place.

English colonizers, who occupied Aden in 1839, met from the very first days active resistance against the colonial regime. But inequality of forces and a policy of bribing the local feudal lords, sultans and sheikhs did their work: the colonizers were able to establish themselves for a long time in the southern part of the Arabian peninsula. This was also helped by the arbitrary forming of South Yemen into an "independent state." In the present epoch, under the influence of the changed correlation of forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism, favorable conditions arose for the rise of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of colonies and dependent countries. Incessant popular demonstrations in the south of Arabia in the '50s of the 20th century began to assumed an organized character. The successes of the Arab national-liberation movement contributed to the dissemination

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of national patriotic, democratic and socialist ideas among the progressive intelligentsia and the young working class of southern Arabia.

The national-liberation revolution in South Yemen went through several stages in its development. The main content of the first (1963-1967) was an armed struggle for political independence. The second stage--from the end of 1967 to the middle of 1969--was characterized by a struggle to determine the direction of the country's development. The third, which began with the coming to power in the country of the left wing of the National Front, was marked by the proclamation of a course toward socialist orientation and is characterized by the further development of the national-democratic revolution.

Simultaneously with the rise of the national-liberation struggle in South Yemen, a workers movement came into being, first in the form of a trade-union movement. One of the first to be established was the trade union of Aden's carpenters in 1948. In the '50s there came to be established trade unions of dockworkers, pilots and oil workers. By 1955 there were already 12 trade unions; in 1962 their number had grown to 23. By this time, they had united in their ranks about 21,500 members, which constituted approximately one-fourth of the country's workers.³ In 1956, at the time of a general political strike of the workers of Aden against the rapacious policy of the foreign monopolies and for the elimination of the occupation regime, there was established the Congress of Trade Unions of Aden (KPA), which united all the trade unions existing at the time. The Congress came out against imperialist exploitation, the English military presence and for democratic freedoms. But the slogans of the Congress were more of a declarative character, since its leaders practically rejected political struggle, remaining in the positions of trade unionism. This could not satisfy the laboring masses, which in the course of striking struggle also made political demands.

Already at this stage, the working class was playing a significant role in the country's social-political life. But its relative small size, the incompleteness of the processes of class differentiation in South Yemen and also the weakness of the local bourgeoisie as well as certain other factors predetermined the emergence as a guiding force in the struggle for national independence of a revolutionary democracy, consisting of radically inclined circles of the intelligentsia based on the broad peasant masses and proletarian, semiproletarian and petty-bourgeois strata of the city population.

The general upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the countries of Asia and Africa in the '50s helped intensify the struggle of South Yemen for freedom and independence. The success of the antiimperialist, antifeudal revolution of 23 July 1952 in Egypt exerted a big revolutionizing influence on the development of the anticolonial struggle. In Aden, social-political activity was markedly activated; this resulted in the appearance of the first nationalist and liberal-democratic parties and social organizations. Their multiplicity attested to the splintered character of the forces of the national-liberation movement. The antimonarchical revolution of 26 September 1962 in North Yemen acted as a new impetus to strengthening of the liberation struggle in the south and produced a movement for the unification of both parts of Yemen, artificially divided by the colonizers. It served as an impulse for bringing together of the forces in South Yemen that had been fighting for national liberation.

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In the middle of 1963, the National Liberation Front of Occupied South Yemen (NF) was created on the basis of the fusion of a number of legal and illegal groups and organizations. It proclaimed armed struggle as the only effective way of achieving independence, inasmuch as the English colonizers, for whom South Yemen was one of the last strongholds of the British Empire in the East, had no intention of relinquishing their positions without fighting. On this basis there took place a consolidation of the forces of liberation, which had joined together in the National Liberation Front. On 14 October 1963, the armed detachments of the National Liberation Front mounted a struggle against the colonizers in the Radfan Mountains. Soon other regions of the country joined the insurrectionists. In the course of successful fighting actions, the National Liberation Front became a real political force.

A prominent place among the political parties in the country was occupied by the first Marxist organization, founded by the well-known public and political figure A. Baazibom in 1961, which was known as the People's Democratic Union (NDS). From the moment of its formation to the winning of independence by South Yemen, the People's Democratic Union was illegal and from November 1967 to June 1969--in a semilegal position. The Union united in its ranks the most progressive elements among workers, peasants, the youth and the intelligentsia. The People's Democratic Union was never part of the National Liberation Front,⁴ but it shared the idea of armed struggle and supported the creation of the National Liberation Front in its newspaper AL-AMAL and through its representatives in the Congress of Trade Unions of Aden. It was stressed in the union's program documents that in a national liberation struggle it is necessary to depend on the popular masses, organized and armed with revolutionary theory, to put an end to spontaneity and to make use of all tactical means in conformity with the situation.

Toward the end of the '50s, a South Yemen branch of the Ba'th Party was created. By the start of the '60s, the Ba'thists succeeded in spreading their influence to a part of the trade unions, but their activities were restricted to Aden and a number of other cities. Under the influence of the reformist People's Socialist Party (NSP) the Baas Party came out against armed struggle for liberation, which significantly weakened its positions. Subsequently, a left wing supporting armed struggle emerged.⁵ Many of the participants of revolutionary struggle in Yemen, as was the case in other countries, spontaneously came to an understanding of the need of studying the ideas of scientific socialism. The activities of the People's Democratic Union relating to their dissemination gradually contributed to their adoption by members of both the National Liberation Front and the Ba'th Party participating in the national-liberation struggle.

Further growth of the influence of the National Liberation Front required its organizational strengthening and development of an ideological-political platform. At the 1st Congress of the Front, held in June 1965, a political program was approved; this was the National Charter, which defined the strategy and tactics of struggle by the National Liberation Front against English colonialism and outlined the perspectives of the country's development after the winning of its political independence. The charter was distinguished by a clear-cut anticolonial and antifeudal direction. It played a positive role in political organizational strengthening of the National Liberation Front, enhancing its prestige and influence among the masses. All this in its turn contributed to making the National Liberation Front into the vanguard

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of the national-liberation movement, expanding its ranks, growth in the number of its adherents and activation of armed activities against the colonizers.

The militant program of the National Liberation Front attracted to its size the masses of workers, principally the workers of Aden and the poor peasantry. This was positively reflected in carrying out the general strike of 2 October 1965, which paralyzed for days the industrial enterprises and transport of Aden and turned into a political demonstration under the slogan of liquidation of the colonial regime in South Yemen. The strike contributed to large trade unions going over to the side of the National Liberation Front. Toward the end of 1965 six of the large trade-union organizations--workers of the petroleum refinery, the port, builders, teachers, bank employees and civil aviation--left the Congress of Trade Unions of Aden and joined the National Liberation Front. In the middle of the '60s, Aden became the center of union of patriotic forces fighting against English hegemony in South Arabia.

In the beginning of 1966, the United Front of Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSI) was established on the basis of the National Liberation Front and the Liberation Organization.⁶ The leaders of the Organization of Liberation, which was under the leadership of reformist bourgeois-democratic parties, were obliged as the result of the successes achieved by the National Liberation Front and the growth of its prestige to acknowledge at least in words the methods of armed struggle, although they did not use them in practice. Actually, the creation of a united organization could result in the liquidation of the National Liberation Front as the only truly mass organization, which would permit the United Front of Liberation of Occupied South Yemen to seize power in the country. The fate of the unification was predetermined by the social and political diversity of the organizations comprising it and the incompatibility of the means and methods of struggle used by them. The 3rd Congress of the National Liberation Front adopted in November 1966 a decision on leaving the United Front of Liberation of Occupied South Yemen, emphasizing at the same time the readiness and desire of the Front for achievement of unity by all the revolutionary forces of the country on a democratic basis.

In a relatively short time, the National Liberation Front became the leading force in the national-liberation movement of South Yemen. By the middle of November 1967, it established its authority over the entire territory of South Yemen, including the adjacent islands. Thus, the liberation struggle of the people of South Yemen, organized and led by the National Liberation Front, was crowned by complete victory. On 21 November 1967, talks began in Geneva between a delegation of the National Liberation Front and representatives of the British government; they culminated in the signing of a document acknowledging the sovereignty of South Yemen and transferring of power to the National Liberation Front. On 30 November 1967, the Front proclaimed the creation of an independent state.

Following the National Liberation Front's coming to power, two groups emerged in its leadership; they differed in their approach to the prospects of the country's development under the conditions of independence. The first group, oriented toward Arab nationalism and the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and thinking that the winning of national independence marked the end of the revolution, objectively pushed the country onto the capitalist path of development. The second favored continuation of the revolution, lending it an antiimperialist, anticapitalist character, and the deepening of progressive social-economic and political changes. Under the pressure of the popular masses and the revolutionary-democratic wing of the National

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Liberation Front, the government, which was in the hands of the right wing, implemented certain changes of a bourgeois character. In essence, it strove for a compromise with imperialism, the local bourgeoisie and the feudal elements and for preservation of exploiting relations in a somewhat renovated form. This was borne out by the half-heartedness of the agrarian law of 1968 and the desultory character of its implementation and prohibition of operation by progressive national-democratic organizations, as well as persecution of the leftist forces of the National Liberation Front. This course was accompanied, however, by statements of the leaders of that regime of their adherence to socialist ideas.

The differences in principle within the National Liberation Front grew into open confrontation of the two tendencies; this was displayed with special force at the 4th Congress of the National Liberation Front in March 1968. Despite opposition by rightist, revolutionary-democratic forces, the adoption of a program of progressive social-economic changes was achieved at the congress. But rightist elements, concentrating in their hands key positions in the state apparatus and the leadership of the National Liberation Front, strove to block the realization of the decisions of the congress and to inflict a blow on the left, revolutionary-democratic wing. Its promoters saw the impossibility of fulfillment of the decisions adopted by the 4th Congress of the National Liberation Front under the existing regime.

Success by the leftists in the struggle for deepening of progressive social-economic and political changes depended to a significant degree on support by the popular masses. Understanding this, the left wing of the National Liberation Front constantly increased its influence over them. By the spring of 1969, the left wing had the support of the overwhelming majority of the members of the National Liberation Front, the progressively inclined military from among the rank and file and junior command personnel and a significant part of the workers. The forces heading the left wing of the National Liberation Front fully controlled the situation in the capital and in the internal regions of the country. This determined the outcome of the struggle. On 22 June 1969, the revolutionary-democratic wing of the National Liberation Front succeeded in seizing the power in the country in their hands. The victory of the progressive forces marked a new stage in the development of democratic Yemen and its ruling political organizations. A new government was formed, consisting of political workers supporting the socialist option. The new leadership began constructive searches for ways of strengthening the unity of the revolutionary forces within the country.

A turning point in the life of South Yemen was the 5th Congress of the National Liberation Front held in March 1972 at which the program and charter of the Political Organization the National Front (PONF) were adopted. The congress put out a program of struggle for carrying out of a national-democratic revolution and for a radical change in the social character of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Announcing its aim of building a new society on the principles of scientific socialism, the new leadership of the National Liberation Front carried out deep progressive social-economic changes. Decisive in this respect were the nationalization of foreign banks, trade and insurance companies and firms, the introduction of monopoly of foreign trade and the creation of a state sector of the economy.

Important measures were also implemented in the field of agriculture. In November 1970, a radical law on agrarian reform was adopted conducive to the interests of the poorest strata of the peasantry and in November 1971--a law on cooperatives.

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In the course of implementation of the agrarian reform, feudal landownership was radically eliminated and the land was distributed among those who cultivated it. The PONF assumed the guidance of statements of peasants for the expropriation of landowners' land and its transfer into the hands of the immediate producers and then headed the cooperative movement. The basis of agriculture became the state-cooperative sector, which in 1977 produced more than 60 percent of the total volume of agricultural production.⁷ Measures are being carried out for its mechanization and the introduction of modern methods of agrotechnology.

In the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, a policy is being implemented of creating a national industry. The problem of elimination of the colonial structure of the economy and building of a national economy is constantly at the center of attention of the republic's leadership. The state sector had produced for 1979 more than 90 percent of its industrial production.⁸

In examining the perspectives of the social-economic development of democratic Yemen, it is necessary to take into account the existence in the country of several economic systems and their interaction and to select the decisive system whose development would determine the formation of a new social-economic structure. At the stage of the national-democratic revolution, the state-social and the state-cooperative systems coexist with small-scale mode of production and the remains of the patriarchal system. This reflects the social structure and the character of class union between the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. The repository of the state-social system is the bloc of the laboring classes. Within its framework, transitional presocialist production relations are formed. Here is fully applicable V.I. Lenin's thesis of nationalization under the conditions of a democratic revolution: "This is not yet socialism, but it no longer is capitalism."⁹

Cooperatives in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen still do not possess a socialist character, but with the development of the state-cooperative system, the growth of elements of socialism can occur in it under certain conditions. In this plan, the interaction and interinfluence of this system with small-scale production is important, thanks to which the latter assumes a tendency for transformation into small cooperatives of the socialist type. Taking into consideration the private-ownership inclinations of individual peasant farmers, the work of attracting them to the side of the revolution is based on convincing them and demonstrating to them the advantages of collective labor. In this connection, use is made of the experience of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community.

An important landmark in the establishment and development of revolutionary-democratic statehood in the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen was the adoption on 30 November 1970 of the Constitution, the draft of which was discussed with the participation of the broad popular masses. In it (Article 7), it is pointed out that the development of society and the state has to be based on the principles of scientific socialism. The working class is defined as that power which is called upon to play the leading role in the life of society.

For the further development of the national-democratic revolution in South Yemen, which is gradually acquiring a socialist direction, the effectiveness of the revolutionary-democratic power and its political and ideological vanguard is of tremendous importance. The National Front as a nationwide mass patriotic

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organization has grown into a revolutionary-democratic party with the development of the national democratic revolution in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; in it, the positions of the laboring classes have become stronger, while the bourgeois elements have lost their political role. The adoption of the Program and Charter consolidated the transformation of the PONF into a revolutionary-democratic party.

The socialist prospects of the national-democratic revolution depend to a decisive degree on how the revolutionary-democratic party succeeds in bringing together all of the country's progressive forces. Uniting of progressive organizations from this point of view constitutes an exceptionally important event in the development of revolutionary process in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen: the National Liberation Front, the People's Democratic Union and the People's Vanguard Party (the Baas Party till 1974); this was abetted by the closeness of their program directives and general approach to problems of the country's development. A Unification Congress of these parties held in 1975 led to the creation of a single ruling organization for the country--the Unified Political Organization National Front (OPONF). Strengthening of the unity of the three national-patriotic organizations prepared the necessary prerequisites for the subsequent creation of a vanguard party capable of heading the struggle for the attainment of further transformations of a socialist character.

The National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, after coming to power, underwent a significant evolution. On the basis of its own experience and also on the basis of study of the achievements of advanced social thought, its leadership gradually came to the conclusion of the necessity of a thorough assimilation of the ideas of scientific socialism and cooperation with the advanced detachments of the international revolutionary movement. In accordance with a decision of the 5th Congress of the National Liberation Front on the creation of a vanguard party and especially after the Unification Congress, an organizational restructuring took place; its basic direction was the utilization, naturally with account being taken of Yemen specific characteristics, of a number of organizational-political principles of Marxist-Leninist parties in the OPONF. The program documents and character of the OPONF clearly define the most important of its organizational principles: democratic centralism, the collective character of leadership with emphasis on the need of expanding intraparty democracy while strengthening discipline and unity of the party's ranks.¹⁰

The development of the OPONF into a vanguard party is borne out by the change in its class makeup. At the Unification Congress an objective was set of bringing into the OPONF laboring people, especially workers. A plenum of the OPONF Central Committee (April 1976) adopted a decision of conducting in June 1976, on the anniversary of the "sanitary"¹¹ movement, a campaign for increasing representation in the party of workers and peasants. The relative share of the organization's members directly involved in material production, increased to 30 percent.¹² The task of improving the social makeup of the OPONF through an increase in the worker-peasant representation was dictated by objective and subjective reasons. First, it was necessary to take into account that the country's working class was as yet young; a certain part of it retained ties with the countryside, and some of its representatives frequently held petty-bourgeois views and aspirations. But the development of the state sector, growth of the size of the working class, transformation of the social-political structure of society, raising of the political consciousness of the workers determine the leading tendency of the country's contemporary social development. For

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this reason, the directing activity of the ruling party is so important in ensuring the leading role of the working class both in society and in the party itself. The successful election campaign held in 1976/77 in the OPONE was of important significance for the building of the vanguard party. This campaign was evidence of the strengthening of the organizational structure and growth of the ideological solidarity of the ranks of the OPONE. Significant changes took place in the social makeup of its leading committees--representation of workers and peasants increased.¹³

The leadership of the OPONE devoted much attention to the ideological-political education of members of organizations and laboring people in the spirit of the ideas of scientific socialism and worked toward putting an end to petty-bourgeois, nationalist, "tribalistic" moods and to promoting the formation of the new man, dedicated to the ideas of revolutionary transformation of society on the basis of scientific socialism. Ideological education of cadres has continued to be one of the main tasks of the organization. In this connection, the OPONE Central Committee (October 1976), in carrying out the decision of the Unification Congress on the need for further dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism, again examined the question of ideological education of the laboring people. At the same time, there was observed "wide-scale dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism in the ranks of the OPONE and a growing desire of rank-and-file members and of supervisory personnel of the OPONE to study the theory of scientific socialism in order to be guided by it in all spheres of party work."¹⁴

At subsequent (September and December 1977) plenums, the OPONE Central Committee observed that conditions were being created in the organization for overcoming the difficulties on the way of transformation of the OPONE into a vanguard party, while the necessary conditions ripened in the country for the creation of such a party. Certain elements in the republic's leadership tried to hinder the process of radical changes, the creation of a vanguard party and the strengthening of friendly relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. This was borne out in particular by an attempt at a state coup made toward the end of June 1978 by the former chairman of the presidential council Salem R. Ali and his accomplices.¹⁵

The formation of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP)--successor to the OPONE was prepared at its first congress in 1978 by the entire course of the republic's development, beginning with June 1969, when the revolutionary-democratic wing of the National Liberation Front, heading the movement of democratic Yemen on the path of social-economic progress, came to power. Under conditions of economic and cultural backwardness, inherited from a prolonged period of colonial oppression, the role was especially great of the progressive political superstructure, mobilizing the laboring masses to the solution of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution. The development of the nationwide patriotic organization whose ideological platform was petty-bourgeois ideas into the vanguard party was the result of the development of Yemen's revolution in width and depth. The program adopted by the 1st YSP Congress announced the aim of its activity at the contemporary stage to bring to a completion the stage of national democratic revolution and to lead the South Yemeni people to the building of socialism. At the same time, it was emphasized that the "party taken into consideration the close ties existing at the present time and the constant intertwining of democratic tasks with socialist ones. At the same time, the party believes that they should not be mixed."¹⁶

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In this connection let us dwell in more detail on the concept "national-democratic revolution." The designation of a national-democratic revolution as a special, relatively independent period of development of the revolutionary process in countries assuming the course of noncapitalist development is perfectly justified.¹⁷ It is in between properly a national-liberation revolution and a socialist revolution and can consist of two stages: general democratic changes and development into a socialist revolution.

The importance of the question of development of a national-liberation revolution into a national-democratic one, despite their common democratic character, is confirmed by the experience of democratic Yemen. In the first stage, a common national patriotic aim played the leading role, that is, struggle with a concrete imperialist metropolis; in this sense, the national-liberation revolution had, strictly speaking, an anticolonial and only in the narrow sense an anticapitalist character. In the second stage, the national aspect is manifested through the solution of internal democratic and social tasks. Inasmuch as imperialist monopolies remain as a barrier to their realization together with representatives of precapitalist relations and local big business, the national-democratic revolution acquires by this time a more clearly expressed than before both an antiimperialist direction and also an anticapitalist one.

In the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen, which is undergoing a national-democratic revolution, major efforts are being directed at the present time to the building of a vanguard party standing at the positions of scientific socialism. Its formation will contribute to the creation of an important factor of the transition from the first stage of the national-democratic revolution to its second stage, culminating in general democratic changes based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This thought was clearly formulated in the Program of the Yemen Socialist Party: "The YSP, which is guided in its activities by the theory of scientific socialism, is capable, while resting on class scientific foundations, of ensuring the transition of the national-democratic revolution and its corresponding governmental regime into a more developed, higher form of state and social order. In the accomplishment of these tasks the party takes into account both the general laws of building a new society and the special features of the development of the national-democratic revolution in our country."¹⁸

Soviet investigators justifiably point out that the creation of a truly vanguard party constitutes an extremely complex process. "It cannot be reduced to the approval and proclamation of a program of scientific socialism, which seemingly is not so hard to do, taking into account the prestige and influence of fundamental Marxist-Leninist positions. It is much more difficult to truly assimilate scientific socialism in all parts of the party, to use it as a basis for its practical activity, to achieve the creation of a social, ideological-political organizational structure of a vanguard party in conformity to the tasks of moving the majority of the popular masses in the direction of socialism."¹⁹

The YSP now faces tasks of assimilating scientific socialism and using it practically in strengthening the guiding role of the party and its ties with the masses in the field of organization and ideological-political education of the masses and involving them in participating actively in the building of a new life and all-out development of the country's productive forces and raising of the living standard of

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of laboring people. These tasks are formulated in the following manner in the YSP's program: "All political and party activities should first of all be directed at the solution of the pressing, current tasks of the revolution in which the masses are interested and which are related to their material life, that is, to a rise in the economy, boosting of the population's living standard, establishment of stable supply, improvement of the operation of the service sphere, solution of the housing problem, development of education and the different fields of culture and art. The party will direct the special attention of the masses to the necessity of a new attitude toward labor, active participation and fulfillment of plans of economic and social development, growth of production, raising of labor productivity and constant development of new economic arrangements."²⁰

An important feature of the work of the YSP is the realization of its acting directive and guiding role in the building of a new society, including achievement of economic independence and change of the social character of the country. The party-state leadership of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is characterized by the understanding that political independence must be reinforced by practical actions for the development of the national economy and improvement of the people's well-being. The growth of the state-cooperative sector in the sphere of production and circulation has to a large degree expanded the possibilities of the state's influence on the economic life of the country. One of the most important tools of state regulation of the economy is becoming planning.

The successful activity of the ruling party largely depends on how broad a social support it possesses. In this regard, support by public organizations of laboring people is of major significance for it. Following completion of the work of the 1st YSP Congress, congresses of the General Confederation of Workers Trade Unions, of the Peasants Union, the Youth Union, the General National Student Union were held. The congresses unanimously approved the YSP's policy for completion of the national-democratic revolution and transition to the building of socialism in the country and a decision was adopted for the activities of these organizations to be guided by the YSP program.

The democratization of the state apparatus and expansion of participation of representatives of laboring people in the guidance of the social-political life of South Yemen were borne out toward the end of 1978 by the first universal elections to the Supreme People's Council (VNS)--the highest organ of legislative power in the country. They demonstrated the broad support of YSP policy and of the country's democratic order.

In recent years, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen international positions have been considerably strengthened. About 50 countries maintain diplomatic relations with it. In the international arena democratic Yemen conducts an antiimperialist policy and demonstrates actively against colonialism, neocolonialism and Zionism. The YSP program emphasizes that the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is working for expansion and deepening of relations of solidarity and cooperation with the countries of the socialist community and for strengthening of unity with the revolutionary struggle of the peoples against imperialism, for peace, democracy and social progress.²¹ The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is basing its relations with nonsocialist states on principles of peaceful coexistence, noninterference in internal affairs and respect of national of sovereignty. The leadership of

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the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is striving for close cooperation with progressive Arab states and is promoting the consolidation of Arab national-democratic forces; it supports the Arab liberation movement, first of all the just struggle of the Palestinians.

Cooperation in political, economic, cultural and other fields is expanding between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Ties are developing and deepening between the CPSU and the YSP, between the trade-union, youth and women's organizations of both countries. The growing cooperation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen with the USSR and other socialist countries and the all-round help provided by them to this country in the implementation of progressive changes serve as an important factor in the consolidation of the international positions of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and completion of the national-democratic revolution. Socialist countries are to be credited with about 15 percent of the foreign trade of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and more than 60 percent of the loans and credits received by the republic.²² The reception of democratic Yemen in June 1979 as an observer in the CEMA was a new step strengthening its cooperation with socialist countries.

The Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, signed in Moscow toward the end of October 1979, meets the root national interests of both states. Its conclusion is the logical consequence of the growing friendship and all-round cooperation of both countries. Both countries are united by a community of tasks of struggle against the machinations of imperialism, reaction and their accomplices and for peace and social progress. Both people have a feeling of respect, sympathy and solidarity for each other. The Soviet Union and democratic Yemen have common interests in the building of a new society free from exploitation of man by man and new international relations on a just, democratic and progressive basis. The constantly strengthening relations between the two countries in particular serve these interests.

Toward the end of May 1980, General Secretary of the YSP Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council, Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen Ali Naser Mukhammed at the head of a party-state delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen went on an official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union. In a Joint Communiqué on the Soviet-South Yemeni talks, a high value was attached to economic cooperation between the USSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which is making an important contribution to the development of the national economy of democratic Yemen, promoting first of all the development of its industry, power, agriculture, fishery and development of natural resources.²³ "I would like," Ali Naser Mukhammed said in his speech at a reception in the Kremlin, "to assign the highest value to the selfless aid provided by the Soviet Union to our people in its struggle for the protection of national independence and the attainment of new successes on the path of social progress."²⁴ At the time of the visit, intergovernmental agreements were signed on the institution of a permanent commission on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and on cooperation in the construction of a thermal electric power station, as well as a protocol on further expansion of economic and technical cooperation.

A thorough exchange of opinions on a wide range of international problems took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The USSR and the People's

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Democratic Republic of Yemen are in favor of transforming the Red Sea into a peace zone on the basis of strict respect of the rights and interests of all coastal states and noninterference in their internal affairs while taking into the interests of international sea navigation. They came out against the creation of military-political blocs and for freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf and repeated their support of a proposal of the states of the India Ocean on converting this region into a peace zone. Special attention was shown to the dangerous situation in the Near East. The participants of the talks decisively rejected the policy of separate deals and the Egyptian-Israeli Pact concluded on its basis, which promotes the continuation of Israeli aggression against Arab countries and the realization of U.S. imperialist plans in the Near and Middle East, and hinders the achievement of a just, all-round settlement in this region.

In October 1980, an extraordinary YSP congress was held; it confirmed the rightness of the general course set by the party Program and Charter, a course for ending the stage of national-democratic revolution and creating prerequisites in the country for the building of socialism. The congress called for strengthening the leading role of the party in the life of society and strengthening its organization, ideological and political unity. Directives were approved for a second refined five-year plan (1981-1985), which was coordinated with plans of the socialist CEMA member-countries and outlines new advances in the social-economic development of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. For the purpose of further strengthening the national-democratic power, a decision was adopted to create organs of people's control. The congress came out in favor of continuation of a dialog and the development of relations between the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic for the purpose of achieving Yemeni unity on peaceful democratic foundations. The principled course of the party and the state in the field of foreign policy was approved. The desire to strengthen solidarity with the world revolutionary movement, first of all with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, was shown in documents of the congress as one of the fundamental directions of foreign policy.

South Yemen revolutionary democrats reached the conviction on the basis of their own experience that only by assuming the path leading to socialism could they solve the complex tasks of national rebirth. Under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard, which a little more than two years ago was formed in the ranks of the Yemen Socialist party and which declared scientific socialism as its ideological and political platform, the people of democratic Yemen have achieved profound social-economic changes. The importance of the experience of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in building a new life goes far beyond the limits of this country; it exerts a marked influence on the activity of revolutionary-democratic forces in other liberated countries embarking on the path of socialist orientation.

FOOTNOTES

1. L.V. Val'kova, "Angliyskaya kolonial'naya politika v Adene i adenskiikh protektoratakh (1945-1967)" [English Colonial Policy in Aden and the Aden Protectorates (1945-1967)]. Moscow, 1968; P.V. Milogradov, I.M. Aleksandrov, "The Struggle of the Peoples of South Yemen for Independence," VOPROSY ISTORII, No 3, 1972; L. Val'kova, L. Kotlov, "Yuzhnyy Yyemen" [South Yemen]. Moscow, 1973; I.A. Aleksandrov, "Narodnaya Demokraticheskaya Respublika Yyemen" [The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen]. Moscow, 1976; P.G. Alkhimov, V.I. Gusarov, "Ekonomika

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Narodnoy Demokraticheskoy Respubliki Yyemen" [Economy of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen]. Moscow, 1976; Yu.L. Kuznets, V.V. Naumkin, "Narodnaya Demokraticheskaya Respublika Yyemen: 10 let nezavisimosti" [The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen: 10 Years of Independence]. Moscow, 1977; V.P. Vorob'yev, "Politicheskaya i gosudarstvennaya sistema Narodnoy Demokraticheskoy Respubliki Yyemen" [The Political and State System of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen]. Moscow, 1978; O.G. Gerasimov, "Yyemenskaya revolyutsiya (1962-1975). Problemy i suzhdeniya" [The Yemen Revolution (1962-1975). Problems and Opinions]. Moscow, 1979; A.S. Gus'kov, "Natsional'nyy front Demokraticheskogo Yyemena (1963-1975). Stanovleniye avangardnoy partii" [The National Front of Democratic Yemen (1963-1975). Formation of a Vanguard Party]. Moscow, 1979; V.V. Naumkin, "Natsional'nyy front v bor'be za nezavisimost' Yuzhnogo Yyemena i natsional'nuyu demokratiyu" [The National Front in the Struggle for the Independence of South Yemen and National Democracy]. Moscow, 1980.

2. PRAVDA, 25 Oct 1979.
3. A.A. al-Misri, "Opyt demokraticheskogo Yyemena i morovoye osvoboditel'noye dvizheniye" [The Experience of Democratic Yemen and the World Liberation Movement]. Cairo, 1974, p 148 (in the Arabic language).
4. The leaders of the National Front at the time mistakenly thought of communists as enemies of the "Arab cause." See "Politicheskii doklad TsK II s'yezdu NDS" [Political Report of the Central Committee to the 2nd Congress of the People's Democratic Union]. Aden, 18-20 July 1975 (in the Arabic language); A.A. al-Misri, op cit, p 260.
5. A.A. al-Misri, op cit, pp 171-173.
6. Created in 1965 as a counterweight to the National Front. See S.A. Omar, "Vzglyad na razvitiye yyemenskogo obshchestva" [A Look at the Development of Yemen Society]. Beirut, 1970 (in the Arabic language), p 247.
7. "Mezhdunarodnyy yezhegodnik. Politika i ekonomika" [International Yearbook. Policy and Economy]. Moscow, 1979, p 266.
8. MEZHIDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN', No 12, 1977, p 52.
9. V.I. Lenin, "PSS" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 34, p 194.
10. "Materialy Ob'yedinennoy politicheskoy organizatsii Natsional'nyy front Narodnoy Demokraticheskoy Respubliki Yyemen" [Materials of the United Political Organization the National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen]. Moscow, 1978, pp 207-208.
11. The "sanitary" movement is the name of the transition of power in the country to the revolutionary-democratic wing of the National Front on 22 June 1969.
12. Yu.L. Kuznets, V.V. Naumkin, op cit, p 38.

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13. Ibidem, p 40.
14. Ibidem, p 38.
15. NOVOYE VREMYA, 7 July 1978; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA [Asia and Africa Today], No 10, 1978, p 22; International Yearbook. Policy and Economy, op cit, p 266.
16. "Materialy I s"yezda Yemenskoy sotsialisticheskoy partii" [Materials of the 1st Congress of the Yemen Socialist Party]. Moscow, 1979, pp 228-229.
17. See for more detail: A.I. Sobolev, "Role of the Proletariat of the Liberated Countries in the Social Progress of Society," RABOCHYYE DVIZHENIYA V RAZVIVAYUSHCHIKHSYA STRANAKH, [The Workers Movement in Developing Countries], Moscow, 1977; S.L. Agayev, I.M. Tatarovskaya, "Certain Developmental Problems of the Revolutionary Process in Developing Countries," RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, No 5, 1978.
18. Materials of the 1st Congress of the Yemen Socialist Party, op cit, p 230.
19. See R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "On Countries of Socialist Orientation," KOMMUNIST, No 11, 1979, p 120.
20. Materials of the 1st Congress of the Yemen Socialist Party, op cit, p 231.
21. Ibidem, pp 220-221.
22. International Yearbook. Policy and Economy, op cit, p 267.
23. PRAVDA, 31 May 1980.
24. PRAVDA, 28 May 1980.

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NATIONAL

SOCIAL OPINION COUNCILS IN ALL REPUBLIC PARTY COMMITTEES ADVOCATED

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[Article by V. D. Poherezhnnyy, deputy director of the Department of Organizational Party Work in the Kamchatskiy Obkom of the CPSU: "Constitutional Guarantee of the Necessity to Take Public Opinion into Account"]

[Text] A developed socialist society is characterized by the further development of socialist democracy. The further it progresses on the path of building communism, the more its democratic principles become enriched, expanded, and intensified. The circle of people involved in the management of the affairs of state and society grows. As L. I. Brezhnev noted, "in the stage of mature socialism and under the conditions of a national state the ever increasing and active participation of the working masses in the management of the life of the country has become firmly established as a central direction of the political development of Soviet society"[4]. The continually growing educational level of the Soviet people is bringing about an improvement in political conditions and the activeness of the wide masses. This is vitally important: the expansion and intensification of democracy depend not only on the system of its institutions and the improvement of legislation as applied to them, but also on the degree to which workers actually take advantage of their own rights, the level of their participation in government management, accumulated experience in this area, the traditions which have formed, the moral atmosphere in society, and on the education of Soviet people in the spirit of communist ideals.

In improving the political system of a mature socialism, the CPSU proceeds from the Leninist principles of strengthening the ties of the party and the government with the people and depends on the initiative and social work of the masses, their experience, and their opinions. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'yich Lenin" emphasizes the permanent importance of Lenin's ideological legacy with respect to questions concerning the development and strengthening of socialist democracy: "The continually growing political and labor activeness of the widest masses, their participation in the discussion and resolution of all public and government affairs confirm the correctness of Lenin's conclusion that 'a living, creative socialism is the creation of the people's masses themselves' ". V. I. Lenin more than once noted the importance of taking public opinion into consideration in the process of managing the affairs of society and the government¹, he explained that "we can govern only when we correctly

1. Public opinion is the specific form of the manifestation of public consciousness which is expressed in the value judgments of a certain community of people on the phenomena and events of the real world which affect its interests, reflect the attitude toward them, and are characterized by relative prevalence, intensiveness, and stability.

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express that which the people recognize"[1]. The present-day stage of the building of communism is characterized by an increase in the role and importance of public opinion, which has been brought about by the high general educational level of our citizens, the degree to which they are informed in all sectors of public life, and developed political conditions and is an important, organic, and effective component in the political system of a socialist society.

The formation of public opinion in a socialist society is accomplished under the leadership of the Communist Party; proceeding from Marxist-Leninist teaching, the party works out a scientific Weltanschauung, arms all the Soviet people with it, and educates them in the spirit of the highest ideals, communist morality, patriotism, and proletarian internationalism. A characteristic peculiarity of the formation of public opinion by the Soviet people is the fact that it takes place on the basis of a community of fundamental interests of all social strata. Moreover, the world-outlook of the working class, which most fully expresses the interests of all the Soviet people, appears as a basic, cementing principle.

Advanced public opinion is characteristic for a developed socialism with respect to the majority of the basic questions of socialist reality. At the same time there exist in socialist society definite contradictions, which arise in the course of its progressive development. A distinguishing trait of these contradictions is their nonantagonistic nature, they are resolved in a systematic manner in the interests of workers and all of society "within the framework of a given system and for the purpose of strengthening this system"[7]. The presence of contradictions predetermines a difference of opinions among the various social communities (and even within them) with respect to the nature, methods, and forms for overcoming them. A difference of opinions also results from the fact that people differ according to the level of their development, education, culture, and according to the strata, groups, and so on to which they belong.

The growing role of public opinion in a developed socialist society is reflected in the Constitution of the USSR. For the first time in the history of the Soviet state direct reference is made to the importance of public opinion in its constitution. In article IX of the Constitution of the USSR "a continual accounting of public opinion" was noted as a most important channel for the further development of socialist democracy. Public opinion reflects views, judgments, and evaluations with respect to practically the whole spectrum of questions concerning government and public life. The continual manifestation of public opinion and the fact that it is taken into consideration in the practical work of all state organs make it possible for them to coordinate their actions with the requirements and interests of workers and effectively react to existing trends in a change of direction with respect to these interests and to the reaction of people to the various phenomena of public life. Public opinion is sufficiently competent in overall questions of social development and sufficiently reflects the interests and requirements of the various social communities, their moods, and the degree of satisfaction with the results being accomplished by organs for the state administration of measures. Therefore, careful analysis, generalization, and the fact that it is being constantly taken into account represent the necessary conditions for adopting optimal decisions and for increasing the effectiveness of the work of administrative organs. The fact that public opinion is continually being taken into consideration makes it possible to provide for its agreement with the plans, decisions, and actions of state organs [8, p 15].

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It should be noted that the accounting for and implementation of public opinion in the actions of administrative organs are not equivalent concepts. The taking into account -- is an extensive and multiplan phenomenon, which is an embodiment of the manifestation, analysis, and generalization of public opinion. A manifested opinion orients administrative organs in their work; the information being obtained gives an idea of the effectiveness of the decisions already adopted and of those being made and of the degree of their conformity with the evaluations and expectations expressed in public opinion. The implementation of public opinion in the practical work of administrative organs is accomplished in the process of operational actions and prospective decisions. In the absence of an opportunity to carry out these or other directives expressing public opinion in a given stage, their implementation is provided for in the prospective socio-economic development plans of appropriate regions. And in this and other cases the extensive information of citizens about the level of the implementation of public opinion is necessary, which makes it possible to deepen their trust in the organs of power and administration and to form a political standard for workers and a civic attitude. In practice the taking into account and implementation of public opinion are found to be in a dialectical interdependence and represent an indissoluble process.

Inasmuch as public opinion represents a specific form of the manifestation of a public consciousness and is connected with the definite actions of people, the presence of elements of a public role are characteristic to it. Will is an integral quality of consciousness, it comes forth as a component element of the group, collective consciousness, which manifests itself in the combined actions of people and in special ways of reacting to social phenomena [9]. However, the moment of will in public opinion is far from always being present to the same degree. These or other forms relating to the association and organization of people serve as a prerequisite for the formation of the will. Under certain conditions the formation of the will is conceivable only within the framework of unified stable organizations. V. I. Lenin emphasized that "it is impossible to determine the will of a broad stratum, if it is not organized into a single organization" [2]. Probably, it is possible to talk about will as an element of public opinion in a dependence on its character, stage, condition, and level. There are a number of questions on which judgments making up public opinion do not achieve such a stage of maturity and unity that they could determine the volitional direction of this opinion while they could acquire an imperative nature having an effect on the individual or the administrative organ. On the other hand, the volitional content of public opinion is determined by the form of the social community in which it is formed. Proceeding from Lenin's tenets, it can be said that the opinion of those communities which are more organized and united will have the most volitional direction. Such a property can be attributed to the opinion of party and other public organizations and labor collectives and also to public opinion on the most important questions of state and public life -- its repository being a qualitatively new community of people -- the Soviet people.

While having a real effect on the development and improvement of the various institutions in the system of a socialist democracy and consequently also on the development of the whole political system, public opinion itself comes forth as an important institution of a socialist democracy [8, pp 12-14]. The term "institution of a socialist democracy" as applied to public opinion must be examined with a

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certain amount of conditionality², inasmuch as public opinion as an institution per se is not formed organizationally in the strict sense of the term. As a social institution it functions in all spheres of state and public life -- in the area of politics, economics, culture, labor interrelations, and so on -- and has a real effect on their development and on the interrelations of people from various social communities.

Under modern-day conditions there is taking place a purposeful institutional evolution of public opinion, it is finding ever greater embodiment in the mechanism of the implementation of state power. Such legal acts as the Law on Elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet (1978), Law on the USSR Council of Ministers (1978), Statute on Permanent Commissions of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet (1979), Regulation of the USSR Supreme Soviet (1979), Law on People's Control in the USSR (1980), and so on have to a certain degree given concrete expression to the constitutional status of public opinion. This process, without a doubt, will be expanded and intensified in proportion to the further improvement of Soviet legislation.

The level of the rights and freedoms enjoyed by citizens is a determining factor for the effective functioning of public opinion and for the fulfillment of its social purpose to the fullest degree. The Constitution of the USSR guarantees the whole range of the social-economic, political, and personal rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. Political rights occupy an especially important place within the system of the constitutional rights and freedoms that promote the active formation and expression of public opinion and its effect on the governing of the state and society. This is the right of Soviet citizens to participate in the management of state and public affairs and in the discussion and adoption of laws and decisions of national and local importance (Article 48 of the USSR Constitution); the right to elect and be elected (Article 96). During election campaigns public opinion has an active influence on the process of the formation of representative organs. It is formed in the course of meetings of electors as a result of the political-educational and ideological work conducted by party organs and social organizations. The decision to nominate this or that individual as a candidate for deputy is made on the basis of the opinion formed about him, and on election day public opinion is expressed in the concrete will of the electors, who decide to be or not to be for a certain candidate as deputy of a respective soviet.

The rights of citizens to introduce proposals to state organs and public organizations for improving their work (Article 49 of the USSR Constitution) is of principal importance for the continual taking into account of workers' opinions. A proposal or reproof of a single citizen introduced by him to a state or public organ expresses above all his personal opinion. But inasmuch as people are in constant contact within the framework of this or that social community, then to a certain

2. The possibility of examining certain most important phenomena of reality, including those which have no organizational form, as an institution of democracy is substantiated in the literature. "The means of mass information and propaganda can serve as an example," notes I. P. Il'yinskiy. "Thus the press does not constitute a single organized institution. None the less, it is a real existing socio-political institution, an ideological weapon of power, and component of the political system of society" [10].

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degree they also express public opinion. Moreover, it is also necessary to take into consideration such an essential peculiarity as those traits characteristic of the Soviet people: a feeling of collectivism and of being master of one's own enterprise and country, concern for the common good and the interests of society. A thorough accounting and analysis of the proposals coming from various citizens and various collectives and rayons undoubtedly give an idea, although not always sufficiently complete and accurate, of the nature and the direction of public opinion with respect to this or that problem. The constitutional statute on the obligation of officials to examine the proposals and statements of workers within a certain period of time, to answer them, and to adopt the necessary measures for their implementation acts as a guarantee of the effectiveness of public opinion as expressed in the proposals and reproofs of citizens. The requirement of the Constitution of the USSR concerning the continual taking into account of public opinion is supported by this.

The right of citizens to criticize deficiencies in the work of state and public organs plays an important role in the mechanism of taking public opinion into account. One of the characteristic traits of a socialist democracy is expressed in the right of citizens to criticize deficiencies and omissions. "Our democracy in action -- is the right of each citizen, each collective, and each republic to participate in the resolution of questions concerning public life, to struggle against deviations from the norms and principles of a socialist society, to criticize deficiencies, and to actively participate in their elimination" [5]. The party gives constant attention to the purposeful development of criticism for eradicating bureaucratic red tape, parochial attitudes, and all that which hinders the advancement of society. The attitude toward criticism on the part of directors of state and public organs is important and frequently even decisive for improving the results of criticism and consequently the effectiveness of the influence of public opinion as expressed in critical observations. However, in daily practice there are still frequent instances of silence with respect to deficiencies and attempts to avoid just criticism, and instances of outright suppression or persecution because of criticism are even encountered. L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "suppression of criticism... is a violation of the standards of communist morality and of the Constitution of the USSR. This is an evil which should not go unpunished" [6, p 474]. The instruction of the Constitution of the USSR concerning the prohibition of persecution for criticism and responsibility for it (Article 49) speaks for itself.

The political freedoms of Soviet citizens actively promote the free formation and expression of public opinion. Among them: the freedom of speech, press, association, meetings, marches in the street, and demonstrations (Article 50). They are guaranteed by making public buildings, streets, and squares available to workers and their organizations, by the extensive dissemination of information, and by opportunities to make use of the press, radio, and television. Assemblies, meetings, and other measures are a powerful factor in the expression of public opinion on the burning issues of life in our country.

The effectiveness of the influence of public opinion on the process of state administration and consequently on the growth of its role and importance within the system of a socialist democracy is determined by a number of factors. The level of the development of democratic institutions is among the most important. The higher this level, the healthier the moral climate of society, the more trust citizens

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will have in the institution of state power, the more freely and more openly people will express their own judgment on questions of interest to them, and the more active the role of public opinion. In turn, the significance and the authority of public opinion will to a great degree be determined by the level to which people are informed on questions comprising the subject of discussion and by their ability to analyze the processes taking place from the point of view of class and political interests and consequently to determine their own position vis-a-vis a problem representing public interest with an understanding of the issue at hand. In other words, the role of public opinion depends on the level of its competency.

The competency of public opinion presupposes in its subject the presence of a certain level of knowledge, information about the subject of its own discussions, but is not limited to it. Knowledge, as is known, represents a reflection of the properties and regularities of phenomena and processes existing in objective reality, moreover an adequate reflection of reality that is proven by practice. Opinion, on the whole, is comprised of a subjective judgment by people concerning problems affecting their interests and reflects their attitude toward these problems. Various categories of people possess different levels of knowledge and experience in this or that area of human activity, therefore, their opinions and judgments on certain problems will to a significant degree differ according to the level of objectivity and authenticity. In life there is a multitude of questions on which competent as well as incompetent opinion is formed. Complete validity can be given to the assertion of R. A. Safarov that not only "informed and competent public opinion has an administrative value. Of no less importance is such a condition of public opinion when it does not express a competent judgment but turns the attention of administrative organs to this or that problem while concentrating their efforts on a given problem and making it the subject of attention for a government ministry, ispolkom" [11].

One of the basic conditions helping to bring about an increase in the level of the competency of public opinion is the extensive and comprehensive, organized informing of citizens about activities of the state, its organs, and about all the most important actions in the internal and foreign policies of the party and the government³. In order that workers can consciously and actively participate in administration and competently affect its processes, they should systematically be informed about the work of organs of state administration, which will become possible when provisions are made for publicity in their work. The CPSU Central Committee in the resolution "On further improving ideological, political-educational work" of 26 April 1979 set forth the task of "providing for the practical implementation of the Leninist principle of publicity in the work of party, state, and economic organs and in public organizations" [13].

It should be emphasized that the principle of publicity as one of the functional principles of the political system of socialism [14, p 196] and the continual taking

3. The collective work "Massovaya Informatsiya v Sovetskom Promyshlennom Gorode" [Mass Information in the Soviet Industrial City] merits attention in the plan to analyze informational relations between administrative organs and the population [12].

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into account of public opinion as the most important trend in the development of a socialist democracy were adopted side by side in the Constitution of the USSR (Article IX). And this is natural, for they are closely interrelated. The better the organization of publicity, the more effectively public opinion will function and the greater its role in the democratic process. The principle of publicity receives corroboration in Article 94 of the Constitution of the USSR as one of the operative principles of the organs of state power.

The soviets of people's deputies, which make up the political basis of the USSR, give extensive and thorough consideration to public opinion in their work. For example, the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, in submitting for discussion of the regular session the question concerning the tasks of the soviets of the republic on increasing the role of women in the building of communism and improving their working and living conditions as well as the protection of childhood and motherhood, turned to the citizens of the republic, labor collectives, organizations, and institutions to present their proposals and remarks for the purpose of studying public opinion [15]. These proposals and observations were discussed under special headings in newspapers, radio, and television. Their analysis and generalization made it possible to make a decision taking the many wishes of citizens into consideration. The practice of the preliminary publication of draft decisions is being introduced for the better taking into account of workers' opinions. Thus in 1978 the ispolkom of the Kizlyar Municipal Soviet of Dagestanskaya ASSR published the draft of a decision on the question of ways and measures for further improving municipal services [16]. The ispolkom of the Gor'kiy Municipal Soviet published the draft of the plan for the public services of the city of Gor'kiy [17].

The instructions of electors, introduced by them at preelection meetings represent one of the spontaneous and essential forms of expressing public opinion. These instructions are compiled on the basis of the public opinion that has taken shape in a certain region or social group. The opinion making up the basis of the instruction is formed precisely during the process of interaction between electors and in a comparison of their opinions and judgments on socially important questions. Public opinion as expressed in the instructions of electors reflects the level of satisfaction or anxiety among the people with respect to the work of the soviets and attests to the growing demands of citizens for the more rational utilization of material resources in order to resolve the questions disturbing the public. The level of the competency, authority, and effectiveness of public opinion and the degree of the socio-political activeness of the soviet people are graphically manifested in these instructions.

Public organizations play a large role in the formation and expression of public opinion. In developing the political culture of the people and combining personal and public interests, public organizations are conducive to increasing the social activeness of soviet citizens and promote the free expression of their own judgments on questions concerning life and the work of the organizations themselves as well as state organs. They possess considerable opportunities for continually studying the moods and requirements of those whose specific interests they represent. In accordance with their statutory tasks public organizations form advanced public opinion and in accumulating the formed opinion of their members express it on the most important problem of the domestic and foreign policies of the party and the state. One of the chief traits of the function of public organizations is that

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they come forth "as a constant channel of two-way communication between the party and the people and their various strata" [14, p 188]. The formation of public opinion and its expression serve as a component of this communication. The right of legislative initiative on the part of public organizations through their all-Union organs (Article 113 of the Constitution of the USSR) is an important form of expression and a simultaneous guarantee that the opinions of the members of these organizations will be taken into consideration.

The organs of people's control represent one of the subjects for expressing public opinion, which actively promotes its continual taking into account. They control the accomplishment of state plans and tasks, wage a struggle against violations, bad management, and waste, and promote the improvement of the work of the state apparatus (Article 92 of the Constitution of the USSR). The activities of people's controllers bring forth an extensive response in all the strata of our society. Public opinion, which is actively affecting the eradication of deficiencies, is arising around the questions being raised by them with respect to disclosures of negative phenomena, violations of state discipline, bureaucratic red tape, a careless attitude toward one's work, and so on.

Letters from workers, which contain proposals, judgments, and observations on various questions of social and state life, are an important form of expressing public opinion. The statute of the USSR Constitution on examining citizens' complaints, the decisions of the party and the state on the necessity of improving work related to workers' letters, and the legislative legalization of the obligation of officials to attentively and effectively react to them are an important guarantee that the opinions of people expressed in letters will be taken into consideration. The organs of mass information constitute one of the basic channels of forming and expressing public opinion. The press, radio, and television can accumulate and assimilate the opinions of many millions of people.

The practice of socialist and communist construction has worked out a certain mechanism for taking the public opinion of the Soviet people into account in the activities of administrative organs. The system of constitutional standards for a developed socialism creates a lasting legal foundation for an effective consideration of public opinion. The party has adopted the task of comprehensively improving the work of state and public organs so that "each Soviet citizen can experience his participation in the affairs of state and be convinced that his opinion, his voice will be heard and taken into consideration in the resolution of large and small questions" [6, p 616].

A whole series of constitutional standards provides for the basic forms of manifesting public opinion. One of them is the nation-wide discussion of the most important questions of state life (Article 5) and also of drafts of laws (Article 114). The truly nation-wide discussion of the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR became an impressive and convincing example: approximately 400,000 proposals aimed at improving, elaborating, and augmenting the formulations of the draft were received; on their basis changes were made in 110 articles out of 173 and a new article was added; the Constitutional Commission recommended to the Supreme Soviet that it adopt approximately 150 essential corrections and additions to the text of the Constitution. The draft of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution "Basic directions for the economic and social development of the USSR for the years 1981-1985 and for the period until 1990" is today undergoing a nation-wide discussion of the grandest scale.

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The constant meetings of directors of party, Soviet, and economic organs and of public organizations with workers are of considerable importance for the process of taking public opinion into account. A special role is played by the pre-election meetings of candidates for deputies with the voters and by the reports of deputies and efficient and dependable organs of corresponding Soviets to the people.

Administrative organs are paying ever greater attention to sociological studies on various aspects of social practice, including the manifestation of public opinion, in their work. Considerable work on the organization of a study of the importance and the role of public opinion is being accomplished in the party organizations of Georgia, Belorussia, Moscow, and so on⁴. Public institutions, councils, and groups for concrete sociological research have been created and are functioning successfully in many obkoms and gorkoms. They are to be found in Leningrad, Gor'kiy, Sverdlovsk, Minsk, Vilnius, Khabarovsk, and other cities [18].

Public councils and groups are rendering considerable assistance to party and state organs in the study of public opinion. In the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On further improving ideological and political-educational work" the study of public opinion was introduced into a number of actual problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and questions concerning ideological work. The concrete measures being adopted by the Central Committee of our party are of considerable importance for improving the system by which public opinion is taken into account [19]. The experience gained from the work of the council of public opinion attached to the Georgian CP Central Committee attests to the fact that the systematic and purposeful study of public opinion promotes a further improvement in the level of management with respect to social and state affairs and an increase in the effectiveness of ideological work. Speaking at the 17th Plenum of the Georgian CP Central Committee, E. A. Shevardnadze noted that now it is impossible to imagine the work of the Central Committee and its departments without the council of public opinion [20]. In this connection it appears expedient to create such councils in all the party committees of the Union and autonomous republics, krais and oblasts, and large cities. It would also be justified to organize specialized groups or departments for the study of public opinion in kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies and in the supreme soviets of the republics. The work of these specialized groups would be directed and coordinated by respective party committees.

Today there are in the country several scientific subdivisions concerning themselves with the study of public opinion. Probably, it has become necessary to create a specialized institute of public opinion with branches in various regions of the country and also sections in other academic institutes⁵. The posing of this question was brought about by the necessity to organize research on a vast scale. Qualified personnel are needed in order to conduct such research at a high theoretical and practical level. A similar scientific institution could not only become a center for the collection and processing of the necessary information, but also a center for the training of such personnel. Specialized work on the methods and "technology"

4. Councils for the study of public opinion have been created in many of the party's raykoms in Moscow.

5. This idea has been advanced by a number of scholars [21, 22].

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of research, the typology of plans and objectives and so on is also important.

The utilization of various forms and methods of study and of the manifestation of public opinion permits the timely drawing of appropriate conclusions, the adoption of measures for the successful solution of problems, and the better and more complete taking into account of the experience and knowledge of the broad masses of workers, which, in turn, promotes the enrichment of socialist democracy.

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